

[Imt'ddan]

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[361] old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt, picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida, prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one penetrates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, obstructed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic mores: from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the generous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Idma]

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619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly inhabited any more except by the ikhs of the ait LqaId, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

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776 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, redoubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen.

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619 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

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182 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

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[776] But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiology? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

[63] It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

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795 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often exclusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

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• 775 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult, with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer mussem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-'Aynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

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177 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transformation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

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[For a general history of the maraboutic brotherhoods in Morocco from the beginning of the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century, see category 116, pp. 106-132 and 138-139; historical information on the establishment of the Zaouias (schools or religious centers for the various orders), will be found in category 116, pp. 122-124.]

/48 cont. /

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
1167 to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
1464 money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining
in the country.

1179 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its his-
tory will make us understand by what circumstances -- profound-
ly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
1346 of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages
whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this
country has been crowned with success, and one would look in
vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

1195 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are
1188 observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
1554 by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
1184 the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
1198 an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères
/Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the
narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
1554 marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from
their tithes.

1179 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
1176 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
1171 can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
1172 their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*1631 small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
1619 canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the
confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of
the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla 'Aziza of the

/121 cont./

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Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

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2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chtouka by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwon, etc.

* [634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilelt.

[792] Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld,

• [795] is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Souktana, the great confederation of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan Moulay Abd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

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121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
 171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
 *631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
 182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
 578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
 648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despot-
 ism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the
 Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting
 than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be
 powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenel-
 ated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the
 boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives.
 If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in ex-
 tending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same
 time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradu-
 ally gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the
 eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in
 which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will
 come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new
 order brought about by the French conquest.

/407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --

792 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
 •795 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
 *631 istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
 [175] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the
 [178] mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

[128] In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
 time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the charac-
 teristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to
 have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by
 reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries
 [648] by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
 must tell how the presence of these flefs, constituted by the
 masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
 795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
 *631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
 648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw
 back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded
 by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the
 montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
 795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
 *631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soifs
 554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
 798 leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
 788 ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with
 green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great
 annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the
 merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
 792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
 795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
 *631 Sidi 'Ali bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas,
 Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family
 tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive
 this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into
 a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief
 to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
 795 by the rapid conquest of 'Abd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
 *631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
 171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel
 'Alam; the sherif 'Abd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants
 were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally
 the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal
 leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

792 /408 cont./

• 795 to the Riffian chief, from the first hours of the fight against Spain,
* 631 that facilitated the rapid progress of his power.
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In the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and the central Atlas, since the destruction of the Zaouia of Dila by the first of the Filalian Sultans, other marabouts have received the political and religious heritage of those lords whose power had extended for a time to the shores of the Atlantic. In imitation of them, they utilized, among the populations remaining the wildest and most bellicose of North Africa, the prestige that knowledge of religion and magic gave them.

In our day no fewer than three of these maraboutic states exist in that region: two of them belong to the old family of the Ahansal, the third is led, at the moment that we are writing these lines, by Sidi Mohammed ben Talbi, who has remained the fiercest of our enemies; the latter also tries to utilize to his advantage the prestige of a great deceased agitator: Sidi 'Ali Amhaouch, both prophet and marabout, who proved to be the personal adversary of the sultan Moulay el Hasan and the great chiefs of the Zayan.

792 The internal policy of the religious lords is easily explained
795 if one thinks about the origin of their power. Their families,
* 631 thanks to their real or alleged nobility, are screened from the
182 fratricidal fights, the vengeance, the violent quarrels of the leffs, which so deeply disturb the life of the little mountain republics and whose presence makes the beginning of an amghar's government so difficult; besides, their role as arbitrator gives them a freely accepted superiority, so that in the beginning they are almost never obliged to impose tyrannical authority by force; the opposite of the temporal chiefs, they preserve the oligarchic institutions of the "inflas"; far from destroying the local constitutions, they contribute toward maintaining them, and it is to their zaouias that people come to ask for the solution of the most difficult problems, which the customary law has not accurately foreseen. Finally /409/ and above all, since the voluntary tithes, the presents, and the corvées that the tribes grant them enable the religious leaders promptly to become masters of the best lands, they can

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avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that frequently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaid the desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance; it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

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The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias finishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

[178] When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

/409 cont./

792 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay
 795 Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to
 *631 obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the
 648 brotherhood of the Derqawa; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the shorfa
 171 and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries be-
 tween the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the
 same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el
 Hasan of Timgilcht give the sovereign valuable advice for the de-
 792 velopment of his policy. But most often the religious leaders
 795 know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their
 *631 efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and
 648 ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of
 rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less ser-
 vile; so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their
 lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that
 of the representatives of the Sultan.

178 Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of
 792 the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant
 795 retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the dis-
 *631 placement toward the South of the large maraboutic centers be-
 648 tween the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regraga of
 the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then
 from the Aft Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Illigh in
 the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political
 importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the
 kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the
 desert, at Timgilcht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at Wissaden
 among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where
 the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages
 have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary popu-
 lations of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peace-
 ful.

178 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before
 792 our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the
 795 natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères
 *631 /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

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178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
 792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
 • 795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
 * 631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions
 of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the
 language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the
 /411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the
 social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
 792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
 795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
 * 631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the
 Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts
 often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that
 traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of
 the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thir-
 teenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose an-
 cestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the
 end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power
 longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
 792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
 795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
 * 631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the or-
 ganization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the in-
 ternal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the
 montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in
 their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in
 the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions
 to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say
 that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large
 religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth
 century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present
 and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the
 picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

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it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/.

However that may be, the long influence of the religious leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

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VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.

-- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaid of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the kaid, struggles of soifs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;

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